An Impartial

REVIEW

OF THE

Preſent State of AFFAIRS

IN

EUROPE.

To which is prefixed

A LETTER to the Authors of the

CRAFTSMAN.

Occaſioned by a Paragraph in that Paper of *January* 17, 1735.

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TO THE

Authors of the CRAFTSMAN.

GENTLEMEN,

THESE Papers were writ with that Candour which, it might be wiſhed, ſhould be always preſerved in Enquiries of ſuch Importance. It ſeemed natural on this happy Occaſion of reſtoring Peace Abroad, that nothing ſhould be offered to the Publick which might tend to revive Animoſities at Home; and however common it is in Proſperity to inſult the adverſe Side, I ſolemnly declare, I never once harbour'd a Thought to reflect on any Perſon or Party in the World.

This perfect Good Will to all Sides, gave me the higheſt Satisfaction in the remarkable Unanimity of *that Day* on which the firſt of theſe Papers was publiſhed: And if there was *one* who roſe up to give *his Negative* in this *Day of Rejoycing*, it is with Pleaſure we may obſerve that *there was* but *one*, and *He* of ſo peculiar a Complexion, that we hope He will never *allay* our

Joys on any Occaſion, by mixing his own with them; ſince it is his Part never to rejoice but when the *People of England* ought to mourn, and when that *diſtant Proſpect* which hath engaged his Affections, ſeems to be more near at Hand.

There was ſome Reaſon to believe that the *Jacobite Party*, had it any longer ſubſiſted, might have been diſconſolate on this ſudden Concluſion of the War for many Reaſons, but for one more particular than the reſt. The *Armiſtice* in *Italy* hath deprived the *Pretender's Eldeſt Son* of the favourable Opportunity which He had there of improving his military Genius, and learning the *Art of War* without bringing *his Neck into Danger*. And I wiſh the Chagrin of this Diſappointment may not induce Him (after *Falſtaff*'s Advice) to *hang himſelf in his* Heir-apparent *Garters*.

As the marvellous Succeſs of Your Immortal Writings hath produced the *Coalition of Parties*, we are bound to believe that there are *no Jacobites* in *England*, though your candid *Enquirer into the Conduct of our Domeſtick Affairs* found them to be very numerous and dangerous in *Ireland*.

For this Reaſon, I perſwade myſelf, that the late Accommodation cannot be diſtaſteful any where, except in *Carrick-drum-rusk*, and one or two other Places in the ſame Climate, where the *Gheoghegbans* and Patriots of the like Claſs carry on their Machinations againſt the *Proteſtant* Intereſt.

But, *Gentlemen*, I cannot paſs over the laſt *Craftſman*, without obſerving the ungenerous Deſign, and complaining of the diſingenuous Suggeſtions which every Man meets with in that Paper; where the moſt provoking perſonal Abuſe is repeated, at a Time when the Authors of it cannot find

find the Shadow of a Pretence to clamour at the Conduct of National Affairs.

Since the preſent Oppoſition was commenced, and this is the *Eleventh* Year of its Progreſs, there hath not been a Seſſion begun with the like *undiſputed Addreſs to the Throne*: And when a *Set of Oppoſers*, who as much as they have inveigh'd againſt *Majorities*, boaſt their Numbers to be almoſt equal to *the Majority*; when THEY could find no Appearance of Reaſon either to divide againſt, or even to diſſent from the Motion, how clear muſt be the *Truth* which even their Eloquence could not diſpute, and how powerful that *Authority* which their Numbers could not oppoſe?

The Inconſiſtency of the *Craftſman* which I object to is therefore the more obvious; wherein, to omit the Conſideration of much *Abuſe*, below the *Dignity of a Gentleman* either to throw out or to animadvert upon, there is a Paſſage which immediately belongs to the Subject of theſe Papers—a Suggeſtion "that *Foreign Powers* ſhew a manifeſt Coldneſs and Indifference to *all his Majeſty's good Offices and Propoſitions* (even at a Time when they ſtand moſt in need of a *Mediator*) from the *mean Opinion* which they entertain of thoſe who are known to preſide in his Councils."

I cannot conceal my Apprehenſions that this Paper *travelled a long Journey* before it arrived at the Preſs, and was the Work of ſome extraordinary Stateſman, who, tender of hearing himſelf praiſed for the Soundneſs of his Morals, and the Depth of his Politicks, hath retired to ſuch a Diſtance from his Country, that the Papers which He writes *are out of Seaſon* before they can be publiſhed.

If it had been pretended, that *Foreign Powers* were cold to his Majeſty's good Offices and Propoſitions, whilſt things remained in a State of Deliberation, the Author of this bold Suggeſtion might have hoped for Belief; the Uncertainty of Affairs might have led even well-meaning Men to have imagined whatever the Malicious could infuſe into them. But when all *Europe* confeſs his Majeſty's Weight, when thankful Nations acclaim it, and ſcarcely *one* Voice in a whole Parliament is heard to deny it; when the infinite Succeſs of his Majeſty's good Offices and Propoſitions proves the high Reſpect with which they were received, and the great Conſideration in which they were held; when it is notorious, that there is not a Court in *Europe* where the Miniſters of the contending Powers have not declared themſelves to have the utmoſt Regard to his Majeſty's Interpoſition; and that of the Princes leaſt ſatisfied with the Accommodation, the *King of Spain* particularly, hath declared himſelf willing to accept the Good Offices of the Maritime Powers, and hath, in Conſideration of them, even reſolved *to comply with the Preliminaries:* When all this is evident, can there be more open Contempt of Honeſty and Truth, than to ſuggeſt, that *Foreign Powers* have ſhewed Coldneſs and Indifference to ALL or *any* of his Majeſty's *Good-Offices and Propoſitions*, or a mean Opinion of thoſe who are known to preſide in his Councils?

The Fact is ſo clearly contrary to this Suggeſtion, that *the Power* of whom this is meant, *the Power* which ſtood moſt in need of *a Mediation*, ſought to his Majeſty for Aid in the ſtrongeſt Terms, and could never betray the leaſt Shew of Coldneſs to that Prince, whoſe Arms muſt have been the Support of the Empire in the laſt Extremity;

Extremity; whoſe Influence contributed more to unite the Members of the *Germanick Body* in the *Emperor*'s Intereſt than all other Means in the World, and whoſe weighty Interpoſition hath actually detached from the *oppoſite Intereſt* thoſe who were moſt rely'd upon in every Project to the Prejudice of the *Houſe of Auſtria*.

If, indeed, it had been ſaid, that Princes do not very cordially receive Propoſitions, either to recede from any favourite Pretenſion, or to give up any Darling Dominion: This may be true. They, like all other Men in the World, have Paſſions which often coſt them very dear, and which always ſtruggle very hard to be gratify'd: But that any *Indifference* to the Overtures of *Great Britain* appeared in the late Negotiations of *Europe*, other than what may be accounted for from the Unwillingneſs of Princes to mortify their own Ambition, is ſo utterly falſe, that it was invented only to deceive *thoſe* who have no Capacity to judge, and whom it is ſcandalous to impoſe upon.

If, to juſtify ſuch a Suggeſtion, it is ſaid (and we all know *where* it hath been ſaid) that the *Preliminaries* are not the Reſult of his Majeſty's Propoſitions, and that they are not formed upon the Plan of the *Maritime Powers*: I anſwer, that no Body pretends the *Ceſſion of Lorrain* to be of his Majeſty's propoſing; but that the whole Negotiation had its Riſe from his Mediation, is clear from many Circumſtances. He diſpoſed the contending Powers to hearken to Terms of Peace—He drew them to treat of an Accommodation—He gave Weight to the *Emperor* in his Demands for the Reſtitution of his Countries—He gave viſible Aſſiſtance to the *Imperial* Intereſts, by forming thoſe Alliances within the *Empire*, which made the Progreſs of the *French* leſs practicable—

He

He ſhewed the moſt determined Reſolutions not to ſuffer any Alteration in the Balance of *Europe*— He made it manifeſt, that He would not be a *Spectator only*, if the *Empire* was threatened with Ruin—— And had not this been very fully conſidered in a *certain Court*, France, perhaps had never yielded either to *guarantee* the *Pragmatick Sanction*, or to give the *Emperor* Peace on the Terms of the *Preliminary Articles*.

Nor, can there be an higher Proof of the Weight which his Majeſty's Councils have in the Courts of *Europe*, than the Circumſtances on which the Courts of *Madrid* and *Turin* chiefly refuſed to comply with the *Preliminary Articles*, namely, that the *Maritime Powers* were not immediately included in them, and that their *Catholick* and *Sardinian Majeſties* ſhould not hold themſelves ſecure of the Dominions reſpectively allotted to them, without the Guarantee of *Great Britain* and the *States General*.

And the earneſt Inſtances which the *Emperor* and *France* have made at this Court for the Approbation of *Great Britain* to confirm the *Preliminaries*, is as clear a Demonſtration that neither of thoſe Great Powers treat our *Good Offices* with Coldneſs or with Indifference.

Could Malice or Diſaffection with any Plauſibility refer to any Court in *Europe*, that might be ſuppoſed not to have ſhewed the full Regard to *Great Britain*, which his Majeſty and the Nation deſerve, perhaps an ill-meaning Writer might miſconſtrue the ſlow, cautious, and unwilling Proceedings of the *Dutch*, in every thing which tended to ſuccour the *Emperor*, as diſrepectful to *Britain*, who vigorouſly preſſed them to arm in Readineſs for his Relief, if *France* would not hearken to Reaſon.

But

But I am perſuaded that the *States General* want not a proper Defence, and that their Unwillingneſs did not proceed from their *mean Opinion of thoſe who are known to* preſide *in his Majeſty's Councils*, but from their BAD OPINION *of thoſe who are known to oppoſe them.* Their *High Mightineſſes* muſt well remember, that after having been engaged beyond their Strength by the Charms of our Alliance in the laſt Great War in *Europe*, they were infamouſly betray'd and ſacrificed by the Influence of THAT MAN, whom the *Oppoſing Party* in *Great Britain* have eſtabliſhed as an Oracle in all Foreign Affairs, whom the *Great Patriot* Himſelf hath pronounced to be a Miniſter of *unqueſtionable Capacity*, kept from employing it in the Service of his Country by the Prevalence of meer Faction, and whom the Reformers of our Laws have adopted as the beſt qualified Judge of our Conſtitution.

If therefore the *Dutch* had any Suſpicion, that the Boaſts of our Patriots, and their ſanguine Aſſurance of being able to deſtroy the preſent Miniſters, might have even the leaſt Foundation in the Reaſon of Things, they muſt tremble to think of engaging their People in a War, which might bring them again to depend on the ſame *Wicked Miniſter* of *Britain*, who formerly betray'd and ſurrender'd them to the Power of *France*: A Man, whoſe Malignity to Human Nature is only to be equalled by his implacable Hatred to the *Dutch*, and who hath been for *Thirty Years* paſt the moſt envenomed Enemy to their *Republick* that was ever known ſince the Death of the *Duke* of ALVA.

And even if this Perſon had leſs Credit with the Party in Oppoſition, if He were withdrawn from Politicks, or from the World itſelf, the

Dutch

Dutch might naturally fear, from the fatal Example of his Treachery to them, the Conſequences of a Change in the Adminiſtration, and in the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration, as both are commonly joined together.

It is therefore plain to the Underſtanding of all Men, that, if the *Dutch* did not act up to the Spirit of his Majeſty's Councils, it was not from any mean Opinion of his Miniſters, but from a juſt Apprehenſion, that the uncertain Events of a War might too powerfully affect the Fortunes of thoſe Miniſters; that in any violent Commotion of *Europe* the Scene might be changed in *Britain*, the *Britiſh* Miniſters ruined, and the *Britiſh* Allies undone by the Violence of a Faction, reſtleſs to engroſs all Power, and to gratify unjuſt Revenge, though at the Expence of their Country's Honour, and the common Intereſt of Nations.

It is ſhewn in the enſuing Diſcourſe, that this Diſadvantage to his Majeſty's Councils hath encreaſed the Reputation of his Wiſdom and Reſolution in ſurmounting every Difficulty: And ſurely, if the unreaſonable Oppoſition in this Country made the *Peace of Europe* ſo difficult to reſtore, the *Oppoſers* will at length be ſhamed into Reaſon and Duty, will acknowledge the Bleſſings of a Reign which hath ſaved *them*, in common with the whole Nation, in ſpite of their own Perverſeneſs, and made the *Crown of Great Britain* conſiderable abroad, notwithſtanding the ungrateful Endeavours to weaken and diſhonour it at Home.

Theſe, GENTLEMEN, are ſincerely my Sentiments, which however they prevail as to your *Conviction*, will, I doubt not, have their full Effect in your *Confutation*. I will make no Returns to any other Part of your Paper, as not being

relative

relative to my Subject, and as not being likely to make any Impreſſion, after ſo ſhocking a Falſhood, in ſo eſſential and important a Point. I will make no Reprizals on any Man's *private Character*; how much ſoever you have provoked it; for the preſent Miniſtry enjoy a nobler Triumph, as your diſappointed Hearts and your inveterate Railings may abundantly ſhew. I therefore leave you to reconcile yourſelves to your Country's Peace and your own, and am, with all the Reſpect due to your great Merit,

Jan. 18. 1735. *Your loving Brother* in the Standiſh.

An Impartial Review of the preſent State of Affairs in EUROPE.

THOSE who look back to the Death of the late *King of Poland*, in the Beginning of the Year 1733, will acknowledge, that *Europe* was never alarmed with more dreadful Apprehenſions of the moſt general and laſting War, than from the Conſequences of that *Interregnum*, when the Crown of *France*, after a Repoſe of Twenty Years, the longeſt which ſhe ever enjoyed in the Courſe of many Ages, was invited to gratify every ambitious View, and had leſs Oppoſition to be afraid of, than in any former Conjuncture.

This great Power was become more formidable by the Want of Male Iſſue in the *Imperial Family*, and was naturally tempted to make Advantages of a diſputed Succeſſion to the *Auſtrian Hereditary Countries*. Not only the ancient Claims of *France* on the Side of *Germany*, furniſhed Pretences, but the Contentions of the different Branches of that *Auguſt Houſe*, muſt have given *France* a fatal Opportunity to aſſert her Pretenſions in the moſt boundleſs Manner: And when the Alliance of the moſt Chriſtian King, with ſo conſiderable a

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a Candidate to the *Crown of Poland* as King STANISLAUS, gave the Court of *France* ſuch a natural Occaſion to eſtabliſh a King in *Poland*, inſeparably tied to the Intereſts of *France*, the Power of the *Houſe of Bourbon* ſeemed likely to ſwallow up all *Europe*, extending itſelf from South to North, and encompaſſing the *Houſe of Auſtria* on every Side, inſomuch, that the Diſpoſition of the *Hereditary Countries*, whenever the Demiſe of the *Emperor* ſhould happen, muſt, in a great Meaſure, have been depending on the almoſt uncontroulable Will of the *Court of France*.

From this Oppoſition of Intereſts that War enſued, which made almoſt every Country a Scene of Blood; which brought the *Ruſſians* into *Poland*, the Armies of *France* to the *Rhine*, and the united Arms of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia* into the Imperial *Hereditary Countries* in *Italy*.

Coincident with theſe Troubles was the Difference between *Spain* and *Portugal*, whereby the latter was prompted to become a Party in the War, whilſt the *Emperor* inceſſantly demanded, and his ſinking Condition ſeemed greatly to require, Succours, both from *Great Britain* and the *States General*, which, had they been granted on our Part, muſt have expoſed our Trade to the Calamities of a War in the *Britiſh Seas*; and which, had they been granted on the Part of the *Dutch*, would have drawn upon them the Invaſion of *Flanders*, and the Hazard of loſing their *Barrier*.

So that every Nation in *Europe* was either the Seat of War, or threatened with its Approaches;—a War, whoſe Extent or Duration the wiſeſt Men in the World could make no Judgment of, and whoſe Events might occaſion even greater Calamities than the moſt fearful could be aware of.

In this Situation, and amidſt theſe ſad Apprehenſions, if any Man, on whom a Nation could turn its Eyes, as proper to give his Advice or Aſſiſtance in a Seaſon of ſo much Diſtreſs; if any ſuch Perſon had offered to the *People of Britain* to preſerve them, not only from the Calamities of a War, but even from the Miſchiefs of inactive and peaceable Meaſures; had offered, that, in all the Troubles of the Continent, this Iſland ſhould have no Share but to mediate an Accommodation; had offered, that, from the Succeſs of our Mediation, the *Peace of Europe* ſhould be reſtored with greater Advantages than had hitherto been obtained, or looked for; and even that the *Emperor* himſelf ſhould gain infinitely better Security for the Succeſſion in his Family, than he ever had Hopes of before the War,——would not every Man in *Britain*, with Tranſports of Joy, have embraced ſuch a Perſon as their greateſt Deliverer, whoſe Wiſdom and Integrity could never enough be adored? whoſe Succeſs muſt not only ſave his Country from Debts, from Taxes, from a Deluge of Blood, and an endleſs Series of Misfortunes, but muſt eſtabliſh the Peace of all the Powers around us, and ſecure the Happineſs of Nations yet unborn?

If then the cautious Wiſdom and prevailing Influence of his Majeſty's Councils have produced theſe ſtupendous Effects, which are ſo much beyond what the Ill-affected would have believed, or the Beſt affected could have hoped; if the War, which had ſpread itſelf over ſo many Countries, hath been brought to a Ceſſation within *two Years* from its firſt Commencement; and the Peace of the World is reſtored in ſuch a Manner, that even the former Pretenſions to diſturb it, are utterly taken away; if *Britain*, grown rich by its Neutrality, is thus become glorious by its Mediation;

there

there is not a Period in the Annals of Time, which can ſhine to future Ages with greater Luſtre; there hath not been an *Adminiſtration* which ſo truly deſerved the Applauſe and Affection of their Country, nor a PRINCE on the Throne, ſince the Foundation of the Monarchy, that ever ſo nobly diſtinguiſh'd himſelf *King*, *Father*, and *Preſerver of his People*.

It will be excuſed me, if, contemplating this univerſal Good, this Work divine, of reſtoring Peace to Mankind, I ſhall engage the Publick Attention, by conſidering this Accommodation in all thoſe Lights, which the *Hiſtory of Europe*, the Relation of former Treaties, and the preſent Intereſts of the great Powers, can offer to a curious Enquirer.

It is confeſſedly ſo much the Intereſt of the *Britiſh* Nation to preſerve the *Houſe of Auſtria*, as the Bulwark of the *Liberties of Germany*, and the Power which muſt balance the Greatneſs of the *Houſe of Bourbon*, that when the War had proceeded with ſo much Diſadvantage to the Imperial Arms; when the *Emperor*'s Forces were driven out of *Italy*, except the few which remained blocked up in *Mantua*; and when the Courſe of the *Rhine* was open to the *Armies of France*, there is no Man in *England* will deny, that it ſeemed moſt natural and reaſonable to yield the *Emperor* thoſe Succours which he deſired, and to preſerve his Dominions intire in his *Auguſt Family*.

Yet natural and reaſonable as this undoubtedly was, the Circumſtances of Time, and the Situation of Affairs, obliged *Great Britain* rather to aſſiſt the Emperor by the Application of her Councils, than by the precipitate Interpoſition of her Arms.

It was allowed by an *Honourable Perſon* of great Diſtinction amongſt thoſe Gentlemen whom the World call *Tories*, that we could not engage in a War with *France*, without the Concurrence of the *Dutch*; and it was evident to common Underſtanding, with what inſuperable Difficulties ſuch War muſt have been attended, wherein we alone ſhould engage as Auxiliaries to the *Emperor*.

It will then be ſeen, that we omitted no Endeavours to diſpoſe the *Dutch* to a hearty and vigorous Concurrence in the neceſſary Meaſures. We augmented our Forces by Sea and Land, as an Example to them. We preſſed them to an Augmentation of *their Forces*, by the remarkable Memorial of the *Britiſh Ambaſſador* at the *Hague*, who, in the Beginning of the laſt Summer, by Order from his Majeſty, and in his Name, *aſſured them in the moſt ſolemn Manner, that if thoſe Repreſentations had the Succeſs which his Majeſty ſo ardently hoped and deſired, they ſhould find him always diſpoſed to concert moſt cordially with them, the future Meaſures which the Situation of Affairs in* Europe, *and their mutual Intereſts might require, to put an End to the preſent Troubles.*

The ſlow and cautious Proceedings of the *Dutch*, increaſed the Difficulties which naturally loaded the Propoſition of a War with *France*. The Variety of our Taxes, and the Burden of our Debts, made it ſufficiently dangerous to undertake a War, which muſt inevitably create new Taxes, and occaſion new Debts, at the ſame Time that it muſt cut off the moſt valuable Branches of our Trade, and leſſen not only the Funds, which are ſacred to pay off our Incumbrances, but thoſe which muſt in a great Meaſure furniſh our annual Supplies. And in this Situation to have taken the Load of

a War

a War ſingly on ourſelves, without the Participation of a Neighbour, who might divide the Charge, and ſupport the Undertaking, was a Meaſure not to be juſtified, unleſs in the laſt Extremity, and when all other Means to preſerve the *Liberty of Europe*, ſhould prove ineffectual.

It cannot be forgot what Cenſures were paſſed on the *Part* which this Nation ſuſtained in the laſt great War in *Europe*, though the Charge was compenſated with glorious Succeſs, and our Arms were triumphant beyond the Example of ancient or modern Story. It may be uſeful to recollect the Reaſonings of the *Oppoſers* in thoſe Days, by which we may ſee, that *Oppoſition* itſelf muſt juſtify the Conduct of this Adminiſtration.

The Author of the *Conduct of the Allies*, that *Maſter Piece* of Political Science, which was publiſhed as an Introduction to the *Peace of Utrecht*, hath laid down the following Principles concerning Peace and War.

'The Motives that may engage a wiſe Prince 'or State in a War, I take to be one or more 'of theſe: Either to check the over-grown 'Power of ſome ambitious Neighbour; to re-'cover what hath been unjuſtly taken from them; 'to revenge ſome Injury they have received '(which all political Caſuiſts allow) to aſſiſt ſome 'Ally in a juſt Quarrel; or, laſtly, to defend 'themſelves when they are invaded. In all theſe 'Caſes, the Writers upon Government admit a 'War to be juſtly undertaken. The laſt is what 'hath been uſually called *pro aris & focis*; where 'no Endeavours can be too great, becauſe all 'we have is at Stake, and conſequently our ut-'moſt Force to be exerted, and the Diſpute is 'ſoon determined, either in Safety or utter De-'ſtruction. But in the other Four, I believe it

'will

'will be found, that no Monarch or Commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain Degree; never proceeding to exhauſt the Strength and Subſtance of their Country, by Anticipations and Loans, which in a few Years muſt put them in a worſe Condition than they could reaſonably apprehend from thoſe Evils, for the preventing of which they firſt entered into the War: Becauſe this would be to run into real infallible Ruin, only in Hopes to remove what might perhaps but appear ſo by a probable Speculation.

'And as a War ſhould be undertaken, upon a juſt and prudent Motive; ſo it is ſtill more obvious, that a Prince ought maturely to conſider the Condition he is in, when he enters on it; whether his Coffers be full, his Revenues clear of Debts, his People Numerous and Rich, by a long Peace and Free Trade, nor overpreſſed with many burdenſome Taxes: No violent Faction ready to diſpute his juſt Prerogative, and thereby weaken his Authority at Home, and leſſen his Reputation Abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be his Caſe, he will hardly be perſuaded to diſturb the World's Quiet and his own, whilſt there is any way left of preſerving the latter with Honour and Safety.'

The Neutrality of *Great Britain* being thus juſtified by the Conſideration of our national Circumſtances; by the Conſideration of the Neutrality ſo reſolutely perſiſted in by the *Dutch*, and the vaſt Diſadvantage of engaging in a War without them: The Benefits which have accrued from this Neutrality on our Part, are worthy to be conſidered.

We

We have avoided the Miſeries and Misfortunes of a conſuming War, both by Sea and Land; we have enjoy'd a free, uninterrupted Commerce with all Parts of the World. In the Profit of the *Corn Trade*, ſingly, this Nation hath gained, during the War, more than the *extraordinary* Charge of our Fleets and Armies; and the Landed Men have gained, by their Harveſts, more than they have paid to the Land Tax.

Another Advantage attending our Expence, hath been, that during a *Neutrality*, the far greater Part of it circulates within our own Country; whereas in a War on the Continent, we ſend immenſe Sums out of the Nation. So that a *Neutrality* brings the Wealth of *Europe* into *Britain*; whereas a *War* drains us of our *Species*, and exhauſts our Vital Strength.

We have therefore been wiſe, in obſerving a *Neutrality*, and wiſe in our Proviſions to maintain the Weight of this Nation, during ſuch a Neutrality. We have augmented our Force, without exhauſting our Wealth, and reſtored Peace Abroad, by augmenting our Forces at Home. We have maintained our Dignity upon the Sea, and our Credit in the Councils of the contending Powers, with ſuch happy Effects, that victorious Princes were cautious of purſuing their Conqueſts, from the Conſideration of our Weight, and the Conſequence of giving this Nation too great an Alarm.

This Succeſs hath been ſo conſiderably great, notwithſtanding the Difficulties of our Condition at home, and notwithſtanding the Diſadvantage we have ſuffered by the ſlow Proceedings of the *Dutch*, that our Mediation hath prevailed, and a Ceſſation of Hoſtilities been obtained in a War, where the Reſiſtance on one Side was as feeble, as

the Progreſs on the other Side was rapid and unbounded.

This War, which hath ſwallowed up all the Imperial Countries in *Italy*, and left the *Emperor* not an Inch of Ground there, except *Mantua*, hath been brought to a Period in ſo ſhort a Space as Two YEARS, than which no War of ſuch Extent or Importance, within the laſt Hundred Years, had ever ſo ſhort a Continuance.

The War which broke out in the *Empire* in 1630, raged EIGHTEEN Years, and was carried on by the Arms of *Guſtavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, and by the *Crown of France*, without Intermiſſion, till the Peace of *Munſter* in *Weſtphalia* in 1648.

The War between *France* and *Spain*, which coincided with the War in the Empire, and broke out in 1635, continued with full Force TWENTY FOUR Years, and was not ended till the *Treaty of the Pyrenees* in 1659.

The War which broke out againſt the *Dutch* in 1672, was not concluded till SEVEN Years afterwards, when the Treaty of *Nimeguen* was made in 1679.

The War which begun in *Europe* in 1689, was not concluded till NINE Years afterwards, when the Peace of *Ryſwick* was made in 1697. And,

The conſuming War which broke out in 1702, and which ravaged all the Continent of *Europe*, was not finally determined, till, after it had run a Courſe of TWELVE Years, it was ended by the Peace of *Raſtadt* in 1714.

This ſhort Duration of the War, now brought to Concluſion, is more to be admired, and the Weight of that Power, which ſo ſoon reſtored Tranquillity, is ſeen with more Advantage, from the Succeſs which attended the Arms of *France*

on

on every Side, the ſlender Oppoſition which the *Emperor*, unaſſiſted, was able to make, and the vaſt Opportunity, as well as Temptation which the *Crown of France* had, in this Inſtance, to indulge the moſt ambitious Views.

Yet *France* with this Succeſs, this ſlender Oppoſition, this favourable Opportunity, and this ſeeming Temptation, hath, nevertheleſs, relinquiſhed all thoſe Advantages which might have been dangerous to the *Liberties of Europe*: She hath ſought for no Acquiſitions which could weaken the Barrier of her Neighbours; ſhe hath made no Encroachment upon *Flanders*, no Uſurpation on the Empire; but reſtores, by the *Peace*, what was taken in the *War*, as was conſtantly declared to be her Intention.

There can be no Reaſon aſſigned, with the leaſt Probability, that *France* ſhould neglect the Advantages of ſo ſucceſsful a War; but their juſt Regard to the Power of ſuch Nations, as they were not willing ſhould become Parties in the War. And from the Vigour of his Majeſty's Councils, in augmenting his Fleet and Armies, from the faithful Attachment of his Parliaments to the Support of his Reign, and from the ſtrong Declarations which his *Ambaſſador* made to the *Dutch* in the laſt Summer: FRANCE and all the World muſt find, as it is expreſſed in his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, of *January* 17, 1733-4, 'That *Great Britain* is always prepared 'to act that Part, which the Honour and Intereſt 'of the Nation calls upon them to undertake.'

To this it can only be imputed, that *France* hath acted, in the preſent Accommodation, with a Moderation beyond what can be met with in the Story of an Hundred Years: And when it is conſider'd, that ſo great a Power, made formidable

by a long Continuance of Peace, made much more formidable by the Succeſs of two Years War, uncheck'd in her Conqueſts, and unbounded in her Projects, hath yielded to reſtore the common Tranquillity of *Europe*, and ſacrificed the Views of Ambition to the Conſideration of the General Intereſt; there is nothing can give a higher Idea of the Influence of that Mediation, which prevailed with ſuch happy Effect, not only in reſtoring Peace, but in preventing every Inconvenience which might have ariſen from the War.

It will greatly conduce to the right Underſtanding of this Matter, if we look back to former Treaties; for, though I believe that no Man thinks LORRAIN any great Acceſſion to the Dominions of *France*, yet the World will ſee, with how great Moderation the *French Court* have governed their Demands on this Occaſion, in a much ſtronger Light, from a View of their Acquiſitions at the End of every War in the Courſe of the laſt Age.

By the TREATY OF MUNSTER, Article 61, the Emperor and Empire relinquiſhed to *France* the Sovereignty of the Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*; by the 63d Article, the Right of *Pigneral*; by the 64th Article, the City of *Briſac*, the Landgraveſhip of *Upper* and *Lower Alſatia*, *Suntgau*, and the Provincial Lordſhip of *Ten Imperial* Cities ſituated in *Alſatia*, viz. *Haguenau*, *Colmer*, *Scleſtadt*, *Weiſemberg*, *Landau*, *Oberenheim*, *Roſheim*, *Munſter in the Valley of St. Gregory*, *Keyſerberg*, *Turingham*, with the Villages of *Hochſtet*, *Neder-rimſing*, *Hartem*, and *Acharren*, appertaining to the Commonalty of *Briſac*. Likewiſe by the 68th Article, *France* was to have perpetual Right to keep a [limited] Gariſon in the Caſtle of PHILIPSBURG, with a Paſſage always open into the Empire by Water, whenever the

French

French should send Soldiers, Convoys, *&c.* thither. It is further ſtipulated in the 83d Article, that the Fortifications of *Benfeld* ſhall be raſed, and of the Fort *Rhinau*, which is hard by; as alſo of *Tabern* in *Alſatia*, of the Caſtle of *Hohenber*, and of *Neuburg* on the *Rhine*, and there ſhall be in none of thoſe Places any Soldiers or Gariſons. Laſtly, in the 84th Article, it is agreed, that the ſaid City of *Tabern* ſhall keep an exact Neutrality, and the Troops of *France* ſhall paſs freely there as often as deſired. No Forts ſhall be erected on this Side the *Rhine*, from *Baſle* to *Philipsburg*, nor any Endeavours be made to divert the Courſe of the *Rhine*, neither on one Side nor the other.

By the PYRENEAN TREATY concluded between *France* and *Spain*, the 7th of *November*, 1659, the moſt Chriſtian King was to remain ſeiſed of the following Places. By the 35th Article, within the Government of *Artois*, the Town and City of *Arras*, with the Government and Bayliwick thereof; *Bethune*, *Lillers*, *Lens*, and the Governments or Bayliwicks thereof; the County of *St. Pol*, *Terrane*, *de Pas*, and the Bayliwicks thereof; as alſo all other Bayliwicks of the ſaid *Artois*, excepting only *Aire* and *St. Omer*, and the Place of *Renty*, if found to be of their Dependencies.

Article 36. Within the *Province of Flanders*, the Crown of FRANCE was to poſſeſs *Graveling*, the Forts *Philip*, of the *Sluce*, and *Hannuin Bourburg*, with the Chaſtellany thereof, and *St. Venant*, and their Dependencies.

Article 37. Within the Province of *Hainault*, FRANCE was to poſſeſs *Landrecy* and *Queſnoy*, and their Dependencies.

Article

Article 38. Within the Province of *Luxemburg*, the FRENCH were to poſſeſs *Thionville*, *Montmedy*, and *Damvilliers*, with their Dependencies; the Provoſtſhip of *Ivay*, *Chavency*, *Chateau*, and the Poſt of *Marville* on the *Vezin*, with the Provoſtſhip thereof.

Article 39. *Marienburg* and *Philippeville*, with their Dependencies.

Article 40. The Town and Place of *Avennes*, ſituate between the *Sambre* and the *Maeſe*, with its Dependencies.

Article 42. The Court of *France* was to poſſeſs the whole County of *Rouſſillon*, and of *Conflans*, on the Side of the *Pyrenean Mountains*, with Part of the *Cerdagne*, *Caſal*, and Thirty three Villages.

Article 49. The Catholick King was to reſtore to FRANCE *Rocroy*, *le Catelet*, and *Linchamp*, with their Dependencies; and even, though the ſaid Places were, at the Time of this Treaty, in other Power and other Hands than of his Catholick Majeſty, yet he was not to be diſpenſed of the Reſtitution of thoſe three Places to *France*, but was to take upon him the real and faithful Execution of this Article.

It might have been imagined, that this long Liſt of Towns and Countries would have ſatisfied the *French Ambition*; but, in the Year 1667, *France* invaded *Flanders* again, alledging, that the *Infanta of Spain*, Queen of *Lewis* XIV, being Daughter of his late Catholick Majeſty's firſt Marriage, the Law of *Brabant* gave her the Right of Inheritance to *Flanders*, preferable to the *King* her Brother, who was born of the *ſecond Venter*; and *Flanders* was claimed on this Foundation, notwithſtanding the Renunciations made at the Time of her Marriage.

In

In Conſequence of this Demand the War was begun, and the next Year produced the *Treaty of* AIX LA CHAPELLE ſigned between *France* and *Spain* the 2d of *May*, 1668.

We ſhall here have another Inſtance of the Advantage which *France* made of her Wars in thoſe Times, and with how much Difference ſhe now accepts the Terms and Conditions of Peace.

By the 3d Article of the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, the moſt Chriſtian King was to keep and enjoy all the Places which his Arms had taken or fortified in the laſt *Campaign*, viz.

In the County of NAMUR, *Charleroy*; in the County of HAINAULT, the Towns of *Binch* and *Aeth*; in the County of FLANDERS, the Balliage of *Doway*, wherein is *Doway*, the Fort of *Scarp Pontaraſſe*, *St. Ecluſe*, *Orchies*, *Marchiennes*.

The TOURNESIS, wherein are the Towns of *Tournay*, *St. Amand*, and *Mortagne*; the Chaſtellany and Town of OUDENARDE; the Province and Government of LISLE, with the Town of that Name; the CAREMBAN, in which are *Pontaverdin* and *Phalompin*; the PUEDE, in which are *Montſeuquede*, *Chiſoin*, *Pontamarque*, and *Pontaboninnes*; the MELANTHOISE, wherein are *Pontatreſſin* and *Seclin*; the FERAIN, in which are *la Baſſer* and *Haut-Bourdin*; the Town of *Armentiers*; the Chaſtellany of COURTRAY, *Menin*, *Harlebeck*, *Deinſe*, *Theilt*, *Roſebeck*; the Viſcounty of *Berg St. Vinox*, and *Fort Francis*; the Viſcounty of *Furnes*, with *Furnes*, *Fort Knockque*, &c.

We are now to view the Peace of NIMEGUEN, and the Acquiſitions made therein by the *Court of France*.

In the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, ſigned at *Nimeguen* the 17th of *September*, 1678.

By

By the 10th Article the moſt Chriſtian King was to enjoy all the *County of Burgundy*, commonly called the *Franche Comte*, and the Countries depending, compriſing the City of *Beſançon*, *Bouchain*, *Conde*, and their Dependeneies; *Cambray* and the *Cambreſis*; *Aire*, *St. Omer*, and their Dependencies; *Ipres*, and its Chaſtellany; *Warwick* and *Warneton* on the *Lys*; *Poperinghen*, *Paillewl*, and *Caſſel*, and *Bavay* and *Maubeuge*, with their Dependencies. Likewiſe by the 12th Article, the Town of *Dinant* was given to *France*.

And in the Treaty between the *Emperor* and *France*, ſigned at *Nimeguen* 3d *Feb.* 1678-9, the *Emperor*, by the fifth Article, gave up, in Behalf of the whole Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Town of FRIBURG, with the *Three* Villages of *Lehn*, *Mezhauzen*, and *Kirchxart*.

Afterwards, by the TREATY OF RYSWICK, though much was reſtored of what had been taken by the *French* in *Flanders* and in *Germany*, and though the Weight of our *Great Deliverer*, the Immortal King *William the Third*, compelled *France*, for the firſt Time, to reſtore the Places which ſhe had conquered; yet even in this Treaty ſigned between the *Emperor* and *France* the 30th of *October* 1697, his Imperial Majeſty and the Empire yield, in the 16th Article, to the *French King*, the important City of STRASBURGH, and what appertains to the ſame on the Left Side of the *Rhine*, with all the Juriſdiction, Property, and ſupreme Dominion, which had belonged to his Imperial Majeſty and the *Roman Emperor*.

Neither can it ever be forgot, or ever forgiven, that in the TREATY OF UTRECHT, after a War, wherein *France* had been humbled in the Duſt, ſhe was ſuffered to exact of the STATES GENERAL no leſs than the Town and Citadel of

LISLE,

LISLE, which had coſt the Confederate Arms the Lives of ſo many Thouſand brave Men in the Siege of 1708. By the 15th Article of that Treaty ſigned between *France* and the *States*, on the 11th of *April*, 1713, not only *Liſle* with the Chaſtellany, without any Exception, was given up, but *Orchies*, the Country of *Laleu*, and the Town of *la Gourgue*; the Towns and Places of *Aire*, *Bethune*, and *St. Venant*, with *Fort Francis*, their Governments and Dependencies.

To ſhew the laſt Acquiſition of the *French*, which likewiſe was owing to the Iniquity of our perfidious Miniſters.——By the TREATY OF RASTADT, Article 13, ſigned the 6th of *March*, 1714, his Imperial Majeſty was obliged to give up to *France* the Town of LANDAU, with its Dependencies, conſiſting of the Villages of *Nuſdorf*, *Danheim*, *Quiechiem*, with their Diſtricts, and all their Fortifications.

The Publick will be enabled to judge, from the View of all theſe Treaties, what Advantages *France* uſed to make of her Succeſs, and what Terms ſhe formerly obtained, even at her loweſt Ebb. As the *Houſe of Auſtria* could not hope, that *France* would acquieſce in the Succeſſion of that Family, without ſome Benefit to herſelf; and as they might naturally apprehend a much more conſiderable Claim on the Part of *France*, than the Reverſion of LORRAIN; ſo the whole World who ſee, that this Reverſion is all the Benefit which *France* propoſes to herſelf, not only in Conſideration of her *Guaranty to the Pragmatick Sanction*, but of reſtoring Peace to *Europe*; the whole World, *I ſay*, will allow it to be the moſt moderate Advantage that any Nation ever drew from its Victories.

For, if we Conſider, this War, which had over-run *Poland*; which had over-run the Country on the

 Rhine,

Rhine, and the Hereditary Countries in *Italy*, thus brought to a Ceſſation in ſo ſhort a Time as *Two Years*; the *Elector of Saxony* confirmed in the *Kingdom of Poland*; the EMPIRE reſtored to its Peace, and ſecured in its Liberties; the EMPEROR himſelf, who was diveſted of every Thing in *Italy*, but *Mantua*, reſtored to the *Milaneſe*; and the Reverſion of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia* ſettled in the Imperial Family: Nay more, the Succeſſion of his Family, in Failure of Male Iſſue, guaranteed by *France* itſelf, according to the *Pragmatick Sanction*.——Such vaſt Conceſſions from a ſucceſsful Enemy, muſt excite the Curioſity of every Man to know the Importance of that Acquiſition, for which *France* is content to yield ſo much in the preſent Accommodation.

This Sovereignty of *Lorrain*, which King *Staniſlaus* hath acquir'd in Reverſion, after the Death of the preſent *Great Duke of Tuſcany*, and which is to be united to the *Crown of France*, after the Death of *Staniſlaus*, did comprehend formerly within its Dominions, *Brabant*, *Luxemburg*, the *Dioceſes* of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, *Treves*, *Straſburg*, and all *Alſatia*.

After the Death of *Lotharius*, *Anno* 809, from whom it was called *Lotharingia*, and by Contraction *Lorrain*, there being a Diſpute about the Succeſſion, the Kings of *France* and *Germany* divided it between them. *Charles the Simple* reunited it to the Crown of *France* in 915. It was afterwards conquer'd by *Henry* the Fowler; and *Otho* the Second gave the Lower Part of it, now called *Brabant*, to *Charles*, youngeſt Son of *Lewis* the Fourth of *France*, rendring him Homage.

The Emperor *Henry* the Third, upon the Failure of the Male Line in 1048, gave it to *Gerhard* of *Alſatia*, the Founder of the preſent Family of *Lorrain*.

Lorrain. His Male Line failing in 1430, his only Daughter married *Rene* of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, whoſe Daughter, *Yoland*, was married to *Rene* II. Grandfather to *Charles the Second* of *Lorrain*, of whom came CHARLES THE THIRD, who was ſo well known to the World by his Misfortunes, and was ſtripped of his Dominions by the *French* *Anno* 1633.

It may be neceſſary here to look back to the various Revolutions in *Lorrain* ſince the preſent *Ducal Family* enjoyed it. In the Year 1475, *Nancy*, the Capital of *Lorrain*, was taken by *Charles the Hardy of Burgundy*. In the Year 1476 the Duke regained it; and *Charles* again beſieged it in 1477, when he was killed before it.

When the War broke out in *Germany* in 1630, *Charles the Third* above-mentioned, was ſoon made a Party; *Puffendorff* tells us, in his Introduction to the Hiſtory of *Europe*, that *Lewis the Thirteenth* took from the *Duke of Lorrain*, his Country, in the Year 1633, becauſe he had declared himſelf for the *Emperor*.

It would ſwell this Diſquiſition to an unneceſſary Length, were I to enter into a Detail of his various Fortunes. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that when the Peace of the Empire was reſtored by *the Treaty* of MUNSTER in *Weſtphalia*, *Anno* 1648, nothing was effectually done in that Treaty for the Reſtitution of *Lorrain*; only by the 72d Article, that Duke *Francis* of *Lorrain* ſhould be reſtored to the Poſſeſſion of the Biſhoprick of *Verdun*, as being the lawful Biſhop thereof; and by the *Fifth* Article, that the Controverſy touching *Lorrain* ſhould be referred to Arbitrators nominated on both Sides, or it ſhould be terminated in a Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, or by ſome other friendly Means; but all the Electors and

States of the Empire were reſtrained from interpoſing by Force of Arms.

Accordingly the Affairs of this Dutchy continued in the ſame Uncertainty, till they were, according to this Stipulation, but not till almoſt Twelve Years afterwards, terminated in a Treaty between *France* and *Spain*.

This was the *Treaty of the* PYRENEES 1659.

By the 62d Article it is recited, that Duke *Charles of Lorrain* having ſhewed much Sorrow for his Conduct towards the moſt *Chriſtian King*, and to have a firm Intention to give him more Satisfaction for the Time to come; his moſt *Chriſtian Majeſty*, in Conſideration of the mighty Offices of the *Catholick King*, doth, from this Time, receive the ſaid Duke into his good Grace.

It is therefore agreed, that, after the demoliſhing the Fortifications of both the Towns of *Nancy*, which the Duke ſhall not have Power to raiſe again, and the carrying away of all the Artillery and Ammunitions of War, the ſaid *Duke* ſhall be put in Poſſeſſion of *Lorrain*, and all the Places he formerly poſſeſſed, depending of the Three Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*; except,

Firſt, *Moyenvie*, within the Marches of *Lorrain*, yielded to *France* by the Treaty of *Munſter*.

63d Article. Secondly, except the whole Dukedom of *Bar*.

64th Article. Thirdly, except the County of *Clermont*, *Stenay*, *Dun*, and *Jametz*, which, with all their Dependencies, ſhall remain for ever united to the Crown of *France*.

67th Article. Neither the ſaid Duke *Charles*, nor any Prince of his Houſe, ſhall have Power to remain in Arms.

68th Article. But the ſaid Duke, before his Re-eſtabliſhment, ſhall prepare an Act, in good Form

Form, to the moſt *Chriſtian King*, importing, that he doth deſiſt and give over all Intelligences, Leagues, Aſſociations, and Practices, which he hath, or may have, to the Prejudice of the *Crown of France*; and that he will give no Retreat for the future into his Dominions, to the Enemies, Rebels, or ſuſpected Subjects of *France*, and will not permit any Levies there, or gathering of Soldiers againſt the *French King's* Service.

69th Article. The ſaid Duke, by another Act before his Re-eſtabliſhment, ſhall bind himſelf, and all the Dukes of *Lorrain* his Succeſſors, to grant free Paſſage, at all Times, through his Dominions, to all Perſons, and Forces Horſe and Foot, which *France* ſhall ſend into *Alſatia*, and to *Briſac*, and *Philipsburg*.

This was the Reſult of the *Pyrenean Treaty*, which nevertheleſs did not end the Difference: For we find a Treaty between LEWIS XIV. *of France*, and *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, whereby the Eſtates of that Duke [and the *Dutchy* of BAR] are reſtored to him. Done at *Paris* the laſt Day of *February* 1661.

As this hath no-where been inſerted in any of the *Engliſh* Collections, it may not be improper to refer the Reader to the CORPS DIPLOMATIQUE of *Dumont*, Tome the *Sixth*, Part the *Second*, Page 348, where he will find this Treaty at large.

By this Treaty, *France* reſtored BAR to *Duke Charles*, rendering Homage to *France* for that Dutchy: Saving, in Conſideration thereof, the Towns, Villages and Countries, ſpecify'd in Eleven Articles, and likewiſe a ROAD through his Dominions for the Subjects and Troops of *France*.

This Reſtitution, however, did not leave the *Duke* at Quiet, for we find he was induced to compound

compound for his Peace, by conſenting to the RE-UNION of all his Countries with the *Crown of France*, after his Deceaſe: And accordingly in the 401ſt Page of the ſame Part of the aforementioned *Tome*, there is another Act in the *Corps Diplomatique*, entitled,

'TREATY between *Louis* XIV. King of *France*, 'and *Charles* III. of *Lorrain*, whereby that Prince 'yields and makes over to his moſt Chriſtian 'Majeſty all his Eſtates, on Condition that the ſaid 'Duke ſhall enjoy the Poſſeſſion during his Life, 'and that the Princes of his Houſe ſhall be ac-'knowledged as next to the Princes of the Blood 'Royal of *France*, capable of ſucceeding to the 'Crown, *&c.*' Done at *Paris* the 6th of *February* 1662.

Puffendorff, in his Introduction to the Hiſtory of *Europe*, Page 207, ſays, 'That the Duke 'would fain have annulled this Treaty after-'wards, but the *French* King, who did not un-'derſtand jeſting in ſuch a Point, forced him to 'ſurrender to him MARSAL.' This was the Cauſe of the Invaſion in 1664, and the next Year was the laſt of this *Duke's* Life.

In 1670, *France* having again ſeized on the Dominions of *Lorrain*, the young Duke put himſelf into the Protection of the Emperor *Leopold*, who gave him his Siſter, the Queen Dowager of *Poland* in Marriage, from whence aroſe the Alliance of the Houſe of LORRAIN with the Imperial Family.

But the Power of *France* was ſo tranſcendent, that in the Treaty of NIMEGUEN ſigned the 3d of *February* 1678, between the *Emperor* and *France*, the Reſtitution of the Duke of *Lorrain* could not be procured on better Terms than the following, *viz.*

Article

Article 12. The Duke to be reſtored to all that his Uncle poſſeſſed in 1670, except,

[Article 13.] The Town of *Nancy*, CAPITAL of *Lorrain*, which was to be for ever united to the Crown of *France*; and *Toul* given to the Duke in Exchange.

Article 14. FOUR ROADS of *Half a League* Broad, to be marked out by the *French* King's Commiſſaries, that there might be a more free Communication between *Nancy* and the Dominions of *France*, and a more eaſy Paſſage for the *French* King's Soldiers: The firſt Road to be from St. *Didier* to *Nancy*: the ſecond from *Nancy* to *Alſatia*; the third to *Beſançon*; the fourth to *Metz*; and *France* to have Sovereign Right in all the Lands and Towns lying on thoſe Roads.

And, *Article* 15. The City and Provoſtſhip of *Longwic* to be given to the Crown of *France* for ever, in Exchange for ſome Provoſtſhip in the Three Biſhopricks.

The brave Duke, with a Greatneſs of Spirit worthy of himſelf, refuſed to acquieſce in Terms of ſo much Ignominy, and choſe rather to loſe all his Dominions, than to accept the Reſtitution of them, ſubject to ſuch a Yoke. He therefore remained deprived of them to the Day of his Death.

LEOPOLD his Son, by the *Peace* of RYSWICK in 1697, was reſtored to the free Poſſeſſion of his Countries, except that by the 32d Article of the Treaty between the *Emperor* and *France*, the *French* were to poſſeſs the Fort of *Saar Louis*, with Half a League of Ground round it, and the City of *Longwic*, as before.

And by the 34th Article,

'The Country ſhall be always open for the '*King*'s Soldiers to march to, and return from

'the

'the Frontier Towns without any Obſtacle or 'Impediment through the *Duke*'s Dominions.'

From theſe Deductions it will appear, that *France* hath exerciſed ſupreme Power over the Dominions of *Lorrain* for above an *Hundred Years* paſt; that the *Dukes of Lorrain* were never able to give Obſtructions to her Deſigns; but that whenever they have confederated with the Empire, they have inſtantly been diſpoſſeſſed of their whole Country; that harraſſed, exiled, and ſubdued in this Manner, they have yielded to the Omnipotence of the *French*, who have cut great Roads through *Lorrain*, and left the Ducal Family little more than the Rights of Proprietaries; that therefore the entire Sovereignty of theſe Dutchies will be no conſiderable Acquiſition to *France*, will give that Kingdom no additional Power to the Prejudice of the Empire; will no ways aid her in any ambitious Deſign, nor make the Greatneſs of the *Houſe of Bourbon* a Whit more formidable to *Europe*.

This Ceſſion of *Lorrain*, weighed againſt the Guarantee of *France* given to the Pragmatick Sanction, which eſtabliſhes the Succeſſion of the *Auſtrian* Hereditary Countries, indiviſible in the eldeſt Female Heirs of the *Imperial Family*, will appear to be the Means of procuring the greateſt Security which the Liberties of *Europe* could want, or the Friends of the Publick Intereſt deſire.

This favourite View, which the *Emperor* hath made the great End of all his Meaſures, is now in a better way of taking Place than he himſelf could have expected it ſhould be, even before the breaking out of the late War.

The *Kingdom of Poland* is now in ſuch Hands, as cannot be ſuſpected of obſtructing the Succeſſion in the *Houſe of Auſtria*; and what was deſpair'd

ſpaired of during the Life of the late King *Auguſtus*, who employ'd ſuch conſtant Attention and Aſſiduity to procure it, is now effected, even with the Approbation of *France*; ſo that the *Elector of Saxony* being poſſeſſed of that Crown, the Peace of the *North* is ſecured, in all Probability, for half an Age to come.

And the *Guaranty* of *France* being obtained in Favour of the Succeſſion to the *Hereditary Countries*, according to the *Emperor's* Wiſhes, and ſo much beyond his Hopes: This will lead us to enquire, whether it could have been obtained in any way more advantageous to the *Liberties of Europe*, and the Intereſts of this Kingdom; or whether it might not have been regulated in a Manner infinitely prejudicial to the common Security.

The Liberties of *Europe*, and the *Intereſt of Britain*, entirely depend on the keeping up an Equality of Power, and a continual RIVALSHIP between the *Houſe of Auſtria* and the *Houſe of Bourbon*: So long as they check the Ambition of each other, their Neighbours will undoubtedly be ſafe.

If then the DUKE of LORRAIN, by his Extraction from the Imperial Family, and his intended Alliance with the Eldeſt *Imperial Archdutcheſs*, becomes the Succeſſor in the Empire; he preſerves the Greatneſs of the *Houſe of Auſtria* entire; he perpetuates the *Rivalſhip* between that Family and the *Houſe of Bourbon*; he muſt have Occaſion for the ſame Supports as his Predeceſſors in the Empire have always reſted upon; he muſt court the Friendſhip of *Britain* and *Holland* as his natural Allies, and anſwer all the Purpoſes which we can expect from the Head of the *Germanick Body*, in maintaining the general Intereſt.

On the other hand, had the *Emperor* made his Peace as many Perſons feared he might have been tempted to make it; had he married the *Archdutcheſſes* into the *Houſe of Bourbon*, he would have had no Occaſion to keep any Meaſures with his old Allies; he would have been in no Dependence on the *Britiſh* Nation, or the *Dutch*; he muſt have favoured the ambitious Views of the Family with whom he had tied his own; their Intereſts would have been correſpondent with his Intereſts, their Enemies would have been his Enemies, and the *Maritime Powers* muſt have ſuffered infinite Inconveniencies.

Or, had he left this *Succeſſion in his Family* expoſed to inevitable Controverſies in the Inſtant when it ought to take Place; had he left the Imperial Throne and the Hereditary Dominions vacant, before the *Conſent of France* had been engaged, and had he thereby given the *French* ſo great an Occaſion to begin a War in *Europe*, immediately upon his Demiſe: What Hazards muſt the Liberties of *Germany* have been expoſed to? What Acceſſions to the *Power of France* might have been gained, and what endleſs Broils entailed on the lateſt Poſterity?

All this conſider'd, it will be found, that to obviate ſuch various Difficulties; to prevent the *Emperor* from throwing himſelf upon the Friendſhip and Alliance of the *Houſe of Bourbon*; to provide, by the ſtrongeſt Security, for the Succeſſion in his Family, according to the *Pragmatick Sanction*; to reſtore the *Empire* to Peace and Safety, and to preſerve the Tranquillity of the *North*, by confirming King *Auguſtus* in the Throne of *Poland*, hath been the greateſt Work that the Hiſtory of any Age can ſhew an Example of; hath been atchieved with the leaſt Expence

pence that the Peace of the World was ever eſtabliſhed by the Means of; hath laid the Foundation of laſting Happineſs to all the *Powers of Europe* in general, and to the *Britiſh Nation* in particular; and hath juſtly earned the moſt laſting Glory to the *Mediating Powers*, whoſe Weight and Addreſs have obtained ſuch Benefits to the preſent and future Ages.

In this Diſquiſition, leſs hath been ſaid concerning the *new Diviſion* of ITALY, becauſe it is of leaſt Importance to the general Intereſt. But it will be agreed, that if a Son of the *Crown of Spain* is to have Eſtabliſhment there, as hath been the Intention of all the Great Powers, ever ſince the *Quadruple Alliance*, it will be the beſt Diſpoſition, which could be wiſhed for, to give him *Naples* and *Sicily*, and to give the Houſe of *Auſtria* a Country altogether on the Continent of *Italy*, by which the *Spaniſh* Court will ſtand in greater Need, and the *Imperial* Court in leſs, of Protection from the Naval Power of *Great Britain*, to maintain them reſpectively in thoſe Dominions.

It is evident, that if the *Emperor* had not an Inch of Ground in *Italy*, he muſt generally depend upon *Britain* and *Holland* for the Defence of the *Empire*. But on the other hand, the Crown of *Spain* hath not been ſo much in Want of our Aſſiſtance, ſince *Italy* and *Flanders* have been diſunited from that Monarchy. I take it to be a Truth of the greateſt Clearneſs and Importance, that the *Spaniſh* Court will always be moſt glad of our Friendſhip, whilſt either the *King* of *Spain*, or any Branch of *his Family*, poſſeſs Dominions in the *Mediterranean Seas*: They will favour our *Commerce*, that we may preſerve their *Dominions*, and they will as naturally reſort to us on all Occaſions, as

they were wont before the Death of King *Charles the Second* of *Spain*.

Nor could it be doubted, that this Exchange of the Dominions of *Tuſcany* for the two *Sicilies*, would be accepted by SPAIN; though the Slowneſs of that Court in every thing which regards the *Punctilio of Honour*, occaſioned ſome Delay. The ſuperior Splendor of the Regal Dignity, and the Advantage of a better Dominion than the *Queen of Spain* could obtain for her Son by any former Treaty; the certain Proſpect of gaining nothing by the moſt obſtinate Refuſal; and the Hazard of expoſing *All* to the Chance of a War, wherein *Spain* might have been engaged with all the Powers of *Europe* united againſt her: All theſe Circumſtances made it more than probable, that the *Court of Madrid* would accept of the Terms offered by the *Preliminaries*; and made it more reaſonable for the *Court of Great Britain* to approve them, by the Joint Reſolution concerted between his *Majeſty* and the *States General*.

The Event, confirmed the good Judgment of thoſe who relied on this Opinion. An Article in the *London Gazette* of the 6th of *January* acquainted the Publick, That notwithſtanding the Memorial preſented to the *States General* by the *Marquis de St. Gilles*, in the Name of his *Catholick Majeſty*, that Ambaſſador declared every where, that his Maſter was not againſt the *Preliminaries*, and 'that he was willing to accept the Good Offices 'of the *Maritime* Powers, but for the Sake of 'his Honour, his *Catholick Majeſty* would not be 'compelled to accept them."

And his Majeſty's Wiſdom and Foreſight in this important Affair appears from the Paſſage in his moſt Gracious Speech of the 15th of *January*, made to both Houſes of Parliament, where it is aſſured,

'That

'That although the Kings of *Spain* and *Sardinia* had not yet *in Form* declared their final Reſolutions upon the *Preliminaries*, yet, there was great Reaſon to believe, that the Love of Peace, their avowed Diſpoſition for putting an End to the Troubles of *Europe*, and the amicable Interpoſition of Common Friends, would prevail upon them to agree to what had been concerted by the *Preliminary Articles*.'

What his Majeſty ſo wiſely diſcerned, hath accordingly happened in the Inſtance of the Crown of *Spain*, whoſe Conſent, in the Nature of Things muſt abſolutely govern the King of *Sardinia*'s Reſolution. It is publiſhed in the *Gazette* of *January* 17th, that by Letters at the *Hague* from *Madrid* of the 22d of *December*, O. S. *His Catholick Majeſty had* DECLARED *to the* French *Ambaſſador there, that He had Reſolved to comply with the Preliminaries.*

Having now viewed this Accommodation in all the Lights of its putting an End to a ruinous War in a ſhorter Time than ever was known; its preſerving the Greatneſs of the *Houſe of Auſtria* intire, and providing the beſt Security for the Succeſſion in the Empire; its compoſing the Troubles in *Poland*, and making the moſt advantageous Diſtribution of the Countries in *Italy*; I will add another Benefit ariſing from it, of no ſmall Importance to *Europe*, and of high Concern to *Great Britain*.—— It hath ſeparated the Intereſts, or, at leaſt, hath divided the Views of the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, whoſe Union is, at all Times, ſo formidable, as gives me leſs Occaſion to enlarge on this Subject.

The Ceſſion of LORRAIN, which is the Conſideration of obtaining theſe large Advantages from *France*, will rather make it admired, that

ſuch

ſuch moderate Terms ſhould prevail in this important Affair, than give Matter for Complaint, that ſo ſmall a Poſſeſſion ſhould be given up to reſtore the Tranquillity of *Europe*; and whoever conſiders *Lorrain*, trifling as it really is in Compariſon with the Advantages yielded in Exchange for it, will conſider it as an Affair that might have occaſioned much Uneaſineſs in *Europe*, and many Bickerings between *Germany* and *France*, even ſuppoſing the Family of *Lorrain* quietly ſeated on the Imperial Throne.

This Ceſſion is however not to take Effect till the *Duke of Lorrain* is in full Poſſeſſion of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and then King *Staniſlaus* is to poſſeſs it as long as he lives; which makes the Acquiſition to *France* ſtill more remote, though the Benefits to *Europe* are immediate.

Upon the Whole, if we examine the Nature of this Accommodation according to the Rules laid down by the ableſt Writers on the Laws of Nations, and the Beſt Judges of all ſuch Pacts and Agreements, we have their Judgment in its Favour, and the full Credit of their Authorities to increaſe its Reputation.

The learned PUFFENDORFF, in the 9th Section of the 6th Chapter of his 3d Book of the *Law of Nature and Nations*, hath laid down THREE RULES for the making of Treaties, which are evidently wiſe and juſt, and have been obſerved in the preſent Inſtance.

The Firſt Rule is, 'Never to depend much on 'a Covenant, but when we know that the Intereſt 'of the other Party is concerned in the Performance 'of it, as well as our own; and that, upon 'Default, he is likely to ſuffer ſome greater In'convenience than he can incur in ſtanding to 'the Agreement.'

Secondly,

Secondly, 'He who enters into a Contract with 'ſuperior Power, ſhould ſo order Affairs, as that 'the *ſtronger* Party ſhall be obliged to be the '*firſt Performer*; for if the weaker Perſon diſ-'charge his Part firſt, the Effect will probably be, 'either that he ſhall be diſappointed or deluded, 'or that he muſt depend intirely on the Favour 'and good Graces of the other for what he expects 'in Return.'

And, Laſtly, 'That he expoſes his Safety to 'manifeſt Danger, who, by performing a Cove-'nant, weakens himſelf, and ſtrengthens the other 'Party, upon Hopes that, in Requital, and ac-'cording to the Agreement, he ſhall afterwards 'receive the like Advantage: For it is a Piece of 'Folly to give a great and ſubſtantial Good in 'Exchange for *Words*, *Writings*, and *Seals*, when 'we have nothing to oppoſe to the Charms of 'Ambition, but the ill-grounded Hopes of Ho-'neſty and Fidelity.'

It may be obſerved on theſe Rules, with Relation to the Ceſſion of *Lorrain*, in Exchange for *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, that *France*, the Power from whom any Jealouſy can ariſe, is to be the *firſt Performer*; that conſequently the Intereſt of the Party to be feared, is concerned in the Execution of the Treaty; that the *Emperor* does not entirely depend on the Favour and good Grace of the *French*, nor weakens himſelf by his Conceſſions to ſtrengthen the other Party, in Confidence of their Generoſity.

I ſhall conclude with the Words of the admirable GROTIUS, in the laſt Chapter of his immortal Work *de Jure Belli & Pacis*.

'It is enough, *ſays this great Man*, if we can 'obtain PEACE; but, for the moſt Part, the '*common Intereſt* requires it.

Firſt,

'First, thoſe that are weakeſt; becauſe it is dangerous to contend long with one more mighty; And as in a Ship, if we can, in a violent Storm, ſave our Lives, by throwing our Goods over board; ſo in a War, it will be a good Purchaſe, *if by parting with* ſomething, *we may ſecure the* whole *Remainder*, leaving thoſe vain Arguments drawn from Hope and Revenge, to their deluding Authors, as *Livy* rightly calls them, which ARISTOTLE thus expreſſes, *It is much better for them who think themſelves* ſtrongeſt, *to part with* ſomewhat of their Right, *than to hazard all to an* uncertain *Victory.*

'Even to the ſtrongeſt Party is Peace moſt profitable, becauſe thereby they enjoy their own (as the ſame *Livy* moſt truly ſays) in Peace and Plenty, which is better and ſafer than a Victory in Expectation: for we muſt conſider, that the Succeſs of War is uncertain. ARISTOTLE ſays, *We muſt remember how many and unforeſeen Changes happen in War.* DIODORUS, in his Oration for Peace, blames thoſe *who boaſt of their great Exploits done in War, as if it were not uſual for Fortune to favour ſometimes one Side, and ſometimes another.* And the bold Attempts of deſperate Men are as much to be feared, as the ſharp Teeth of dying beaſts.

'But, if both Parties ſeem to be of *equal* Strength, then, in the Opinion of CÆSAR, *it is the fitteſt Time to treat of* Peace, *whilſt each Party preſumes upon his own* Strength.'

FINIS.